1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.[8]

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *am*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to retain their bodies within the home for as long as a year.[9] Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final.

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *hürüwaqe* ("firelands"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenuwaqe*; or underground, *minchiwaqe*; or across the sea, *a mesal ofilun*, or *huichal ofilun*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *rewal* with which they were formerly associated.[10]

[8] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 101.

[9] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 721. Ludewig called attention to the fact that the bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "mocked" in Panama.

[10] Hunter (1930, pp. 86-90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

of sorcery, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to permit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a witch-worker is held to blame.

Ahkhimalleu is similar to witch-worker, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *ahkhimalleu* can only go about, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *ahkhimalleu* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[1]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *witrawchen* or *ahkhimalleu*.

Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death. Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Latcham thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[2] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wara kitlin* ("lost head"), refers to any sort of extravagant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely loud. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *wekuwal*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the most common procedure is to furnish a *kal'fo* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[1] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 101 ff.; Latcham, 1924, pp. 550-613; and Tillman, 1928, pp. 319-31.
[2] Latcham, 1924, p. 741.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *kuweyus* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been 787 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first 789 thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*rapoe*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and tawny brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *kuweyu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Hosse (1929, p. 249).

843 866 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.6 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 283–84; Guevara, 1910–17, pp. 206–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for manliness. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children [276] (Hosse, 1930, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Guevara, 1926, p. 855).

[861] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 737.)

• 761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Rosales 762 (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Mossbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Barcelos, 1863, p. 187) singeing of clothing; circling the corpse about or on horseback with great clamor (the sons, or sorbs rise) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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SG3 SG2 [illegible] head of the family and are final. He tolerates no contradiction or questioning of his orders. Women were not displeased about this. During the present study a woman refused to take her place when the family was arranging itself for a kodak picture. The older girls in the family explained that their mother had the old belief that she would die if she allowed herself to be photographed. Her husband tried to explain away her fears, and her children coaxed her, but neither availed. Then, in very angry tones, the husband pointed to her place in the group and ordered her to fill it. She did so. Later I asked her why a man could order a woman to do something against her will. She answered, "That is most certainly a man's right. After all it is he who is the progenitor of the human race, and because of this he has rights to give orders." She harbored no ill feelings because of the rebuff. The same prerogative of a father was recognized by a daughter. A non-Araucanian related the following: "We were out walking and saw an intoxicated Mapuche on horseback with his daughter riding back of his saddle. He kept turning around and striking her in brutal fashion. We chided him for it, to which he replied, 'The girl is mine; I can do with her as I please,' and continued striking her. We told the girl to slide down and go with us; that we would give her protection. But she replied, 'He is the master; he can do with us children as he pleases.'"

No woman admitted when interviewed alone or in the presence of other women that the woman's status is lower than the man's, or that men consider women inferior to themselves. When asked why, then, was a woman so silent in her husband's presence and why did women in gatherings of the people sit together so listlessly and talk only in whispers or not at all, an answer from the spokesman of one group was: "What woman with any training would talk when a man is present to do the talking? Most certainly should women keep still then! Men are trained from boyhood on to talk." To which another woman added, "We do our talking when men are not around," to which the other women nodded assent and all had a hearty laugh.

Regarding many things the husband confers with his wife. During numerous interviews a man would confer with his wife regarding details of customs; she often injected bits of information while he was talking, but always in a subdued voice, probably a courteous way of interrupting. On the whole, however, women sat by quietly when men were present; men did the talking. In no instance did a man suggest that his wife give information; if I asked whether his wife would be willing to do so, he answered that he was willing that she

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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DEATH AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

OMENS OF DEATH

Death can be expected in a place near which nocturnal calls of certain animals are heard. In Alepún even the cry of a fox indicates a death within a year; within several years after the call note of the pun'chúdchi (bird) or that of the guadrado (bird) is heard. The guadrado's call note sounds like that of a kitten. (The interpreter explained: "Light or sight is found in a Mapuche ruka only when there is a sick person in it. These birds are probably attracted by the light, fly toward it, and, of course, do their screeching there.") In all areas death is forecast by the nocturnal cries of an invisible bird known as chuchúchi, which also forecasts sickness (cf. pp. 109-110). "I had just come home from visiting a sick boy," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "and was having a cup of tea. It was late in the evening. A young boy came running in to me, and in frightened tones said, 'I just heard the chuchúchi sing, and I know someone will die.' The sick boy whom I had visited died within a few hours. It is such coincidences that check beliefs."

CAUSES OF DEATH

Unless death is due to an accident, violence, or suicide, it is believed to be unfailingly the result of poisoning administered either directly or through witchcraft, "except in the early days when our men were also killed by the enemy." Usually, death follows sickness. Instant death has been brought about, however, in Pangipulli area, by mixing a few drops of the venom of a frog found in the area, a potent poison, with food or drink. To obtain the venom, a number of live frogs are shaken vigorously in a drumlike container. Infuriated with this treatment, they spit forth a dark venom.

Poisonous commercial drugs are not known, generally. "I recall an instance in Villarrica," said a non-Araucanian, "where, at a Mapuche fonda, a Chilean purse hunter showed Mapuche men strychnine that he used in his purse hunting; a Mapuche wanted to buy some. Instead of selling him strychnine, the Chilean sold him alum. Later the Chilean ate a meal, upon invitation, at the ruka of this Mapuche and drank there chicha in which the Mapuche had put the alum."

In Cañuelpe it is believed that death will come upon a person who lets himself be photographed, or "if he will not lose his life, he will lose something, something like his spirit. If my mother will not allow

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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you to photograph her while she sets up her loom, I shall set it up and let you photograph me. And I shall also prepare the warp and do a little weaving for you, so that you can get photographs with a weaver on them. My mother believes that if she is photographed she will have to die." Five young men talked with humor of having to die soon, since a picture had been taken of them. 761 215

DEATH

When it is evident that a person is dying, relatives are notified—that is, all those who bear the same name as his, or are of the same lineage. They stay with the bereaved family, and later wear the dead person's remains, until the burial, except for such time as is needed to care for animals at home. During the days of waiting for death a cow or sheep belonging to the dying person is slaughtered by relatives and consumed; if necessary, a second one is slaughtered for the wake. 763

The dying person—man, woman, or child—is clothed in his best clothes. If his family adheres strictly to the old customs, a band will be put over the forehead of a man and tied in a knot on the side of his head, "like men formerly wore them." A woman's hair is held in position by means of her silver ornaments; her breast ornaments and sidepins are also worn. Feet are bare, unless the dying person has a pair of shoes. "I was present when a man dressed his dying wife in her jacket and skirt," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The man wanted to know from me whether he should put the woman's best shoes on her or an older pair. I suggested the older pair, and that someone else might wear out the better pair. Just then the woman's mother came nearby and the man consequently put the best shoes on his wife." No facial or skin decorations were used.

During the present study a non-Araucanian herbalist was present at the death of a 17-year-old youth in Alepún. What she then observed, she was later told, was traditional: When she arrived at the ruka, the young man, then dying, lay with feet toward the entrance of the ruka, which was also toward the fireplace. The entrance was the one generally used; on previous visits she had found the young man lying with feet toward the side entrance. The following relatives (the young man's father was deceased) were squatted in the ruka: the mother, maternal uncle and aunt, paternal uncle and grandmother. A neighboring man, his wife, and their young son were also present. The mother was at the left, near the head of her dying son; the herbalist was directed to sit in the corresponding place to the right at his head,

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DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH, OMENS OF DEATH

Of the causes of death, sorcery is believed to be the chief one. 761 754
Always a person is the causative agent. Quilaquina informants suspected an old man in the area of having brought sickness to some persons and death to many. His activity was omened, but his method of inflicting sickness or death was not known. Causes of death other than sorcery were accident, violence, and poison secretly administered.

Accounts of omens of death always included a being called chofi-chofi. The sounds of chofichofi are like the call of a bird in flight and are heard only at night; consequently, chofichofi is spoken of as a nocturnal bird. A non-Araucanian told the following regarding chofichofi as an explanation of one cause of sickness and death: "These Araucanians believe that a person can send his intelligence to another person in the form of a bird to do harm to that person—in most cases to cause death. The bird they call chofichofi. One morning some years ago my Araucanian maid said, 'I am leaving. While in the orchard last evening, I heard chofichofi say "Tut, tut, tut." Then he flew past me and said "Sh-h-h-h-h-h." Death will most certainly come to someone in this place. I am leaving.'" An Araucanian in her late sixties had heard chofichofi say "Te, te, te, te." "Everyone," she said, "takes notice when chofichofi is heard. One will say, 'What is that? What is that?' 'Yes, what is it?' another will say. 'Yes, that is it!' says still another. Recently, at a wake we heard 'Te, te, te, te' over there, then over here, and then over there. No one seems to know what it is that gives that call. But whoever sends chofichofi intends no good." 763 787

An 80-year-old woman reasoned: "But maybe chofichofi is a spirit. You can be sitting here, and suddenly you will hear him at your feet, then over there [at the rafters], then outside. But you cannot see him; no one ever sees him. His sounds frighten people, for they know that now someone will soon die." A listening-in man, in his thirties, added, "I have heard chofichofi. He says 'Twi, twi, twi.' It is always a total surprise when you hear him. I, too, have felt his presence at my feet and on the ground close by."

In addition to the calls of chofichofi, it is believed that death is omened in dreams, and also by seeing a spirit or sensing its presence. Kolupan's father had told him that dreams that forbode death in the dreamer's family are those in which a knife is broken, or a cow, horse, or ox dies. "I have never had dreams exactly like those that my father told me about," he added, "but I have had similar ones; and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most participants come from within the region or ritual congregation is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and communication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests have become more diffuse and less related to group membership than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and funeral rites. The great *füllatun* ceremony and the compelling *ewn* observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *dewechen* and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *füllatun* and *ewn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*weau l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *rehue*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightning-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llatü*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kutxilawün*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *wenpin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa fem*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *weküfe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its kelle.

When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'oyen*; once out of the house, on the communal field, it is called *pelle* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *ampelkon* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *weküfe*. When there are signs that the *weküfe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'oyen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, resourceful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *koxue pinke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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The Ritual Congregation. I shall
deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the
next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a
close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obliga-
tions in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social
group denies, and in large measure is compelled, to show
complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a mem-
ber of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects officials of
the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially
culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt,
and they best express their desire to assist in the unimpeded
transition of the deceased's spirit to the otherworld by expedi-
tious participation in the funeral rite.

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal respon-
sibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally
suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a
more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships
which constitute ours, I will recapitulate the groups most rig-
idly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where re-
sponsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (residen-
tial members included) of each spouse is primarily involved,
each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of
the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from com-
plicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously
questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If
the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the
marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an in-
married woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—
those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's
patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all mem-
bers of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather,
just the most closely related households participate, in some
sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation commu-
nities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all
members of their respective residential kingroups.

Playing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three
well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation commu-
nity. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship
group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), includ-
ing the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related
through women married to his lineage brothers and through

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the death of a lineage mate or his wife.[6] This is a fact of which they are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death. If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[6] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the *weksfe*. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the exoneration of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

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761 769 602 613 598 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services. There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relationships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. [583] Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

764 598 602 613 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Intermarried women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 794 621 182 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible action of the free-wheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity of *weku/e*. The comforting nature of this thought, *vis-à-vis* the solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. [1069] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a reinforcing force against evil operating upon or within survival ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *ewn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *ewn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *filletun* and *ewn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *ewn* and *filletun*. This I have done with some success in the Tolten region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *ewn*, *filletun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *filletun* and *ewn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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thongchowchin. She told my father that only the kalku could remove the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She said that she could do nothing, but that my father should call upon his own ancestors and themselves. Two days later my sister died.

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When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Recourse in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the exact manner, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher, the kalku's client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a thongchowchin.

My father was a thongchowchin, a machi's helper. He was her guardian and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

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One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been taken by a kalku, and that he might become an ankimachife, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lukutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an ampalo [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

[78]

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly nonspecific interpretation of this sort. Machi say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

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a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, unless or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is quite a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further services to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the report (detailed) ... ethnographers was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw more on the fire and, in ... of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was [illegible] consultation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *kalkutun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "demonstration" power of the *machi*.

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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[1] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

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The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *nillatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *nillatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[1] This poses a problem with regard to vengeance-by-witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, sorcery?

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(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the fiiletun. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

When feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential